3: Rasmussen--90-102
116, 41, 192

(c. 1923) 1932

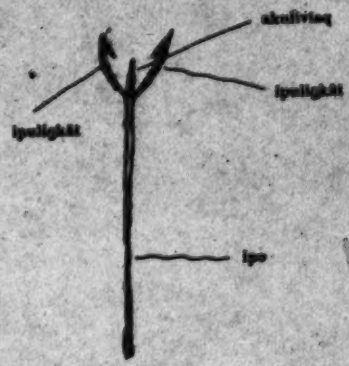
Copper Eskimo-1-13

IV.

Culture Elements.

Drawings by Natsit.

tɔ·q — ice pick.
hafgut or hăvgut — snow probe.
ilaun — ice scoop.
o·garhiut — fish thong.
o·gkuaŋa — the cod line itself (in contrast to o·garhiut, which comprises the whole: hook, line, etc.
nigᵛhik — cod hook (longer and bigger than the salmon hook).
ama· — the horn shank in which the cod hook, usually of native copper, is set.
aularqutit — small white pieces of bone set in the ama· to decoy the cod.
auläg'huta· — actually: that by means of which one moves the line — a piece of wood bound to the end of the line as a kind of rod, preventing the mittens from becoming wet by holding the wet line.
aqalugᵛhiut qarjɔrjaq — salmon thong.
qarjɔrᵛhaq or qa'rjɔ'rjaq } salmon hook.
tivᵛja· — the horn shank of the salmon hook.
miᵛkaruta· — bait.
The other gear names are the same as for the cod line.



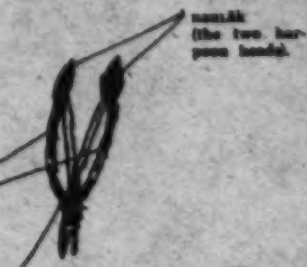
Salmon leister.

kakiva·k — salmon leister.
ipo — the long shaft of a salmon leister.
ipuligkät — horn barbs on a salmon leister.
akuliviaq — the sharp, barbless point in the middle of the ipuligkät.

nuijaᴦpa'k — leister with several barbs on both ipuligkât and akuliviaq.

nuijaᴦpa'k.

naulaq or dualis nauzâk — harpoon leister. Used for salmon, which are speared if they are near enough, but harpooned if further away. Instead of the barbs on the leister ipuligkât there are two small harpoon heads whose line is fastened to the round shoulder (which is of horn), whence the line runs to the extreme end of the shaft (ipo); there, too, it is lashed on, and from there continues in a long or short



nauzâk (the two harpoon heads).

ilimartage (the bone piece between shaft and point).

tukarsaigiyage (the lines of the harpoon head).

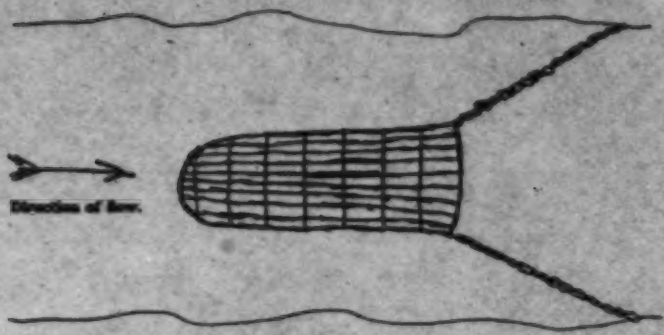
naulaq. With such a short line that it only goes from the harpoon line to the round shoulder of the leister. This implement can only be used for spearing, not for throwing.

end which the fisherman holds on to when the harpoon is thrown. The leister harpoon is used especially at Eqalugtôq.

qaio — fish trap of plaited rushes; for salmon. It is set in a river with its mouth facing down

naulaq. For remains of figure, the fish-shaft and bone broken; it has a length of 6.7 centimeters.

stream. A barrier of stones runs from both sides of the trap-mouth to the river banks, to prevent the trout from escaping the trap. The principle is the same as



Fish trap (qaki).

in the salmon weir, qaχ'ge, built entirely of stone and forming a part of the so-called saputit, familiar in all Eskimo regions.

qɔ'qant — trout-thong; consists of a short line with a bone needle at one end for running the thong through the fish (it is run through a little way below the head); at the other end is a toggle for holding the fish on. This enables one to collect the fish out in the river without having to go ashore with each one, and they are killed immediately when the needle penetrates the backbone.

(nig'hit) — hook spear for catching trout. Consists of a very long shaft with a hook at the end. Catching trout with the hook spear is called nig'higtɔrnaq. In this area it is only used by the Uvatdliarumguiut at Coronation Bay.

Throat-thong (qɔ'qant).

niqiq'hit ukaiɣ'hiutit — hare snare; thin sealskin thongs made fast to a row of stones at places frequented by hares. The stones are connected

together with lines with snares on them. A hare will only go a short distance along the stones, and as soon as he tries to break through he gets his head in a snare and is caught.

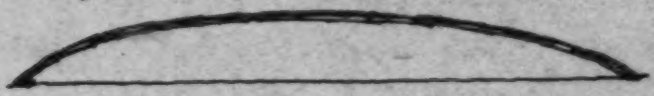
niqêg'hât tiqmiarar'hiutit — bird snares; on the same principle as the above. Set near the nests in the nesting season. The small birds, so caught are of no importance as food, but are characterised in the following utterance: nutarqât nuila·qutait iqaur'harpêghamik — a pastime for children, who are very fond of playing "cooking food" in the open air.

manaq — a pointed piece of bone pinced on a line which is made fast to a stone or to the ice. Used especially for catching gulls. The bone is wrapped in a piece of caribou meat, and, as the gull swallows it, the point sticks inside and kills it.

nqalo·jaq — fish decoy; used only in autumn from new ice in conjunction with the leister. In spring they only use the qa'rjo'rjaq.

pitig'he — bow.

There are two kinds of bow, which are almost always of wood. One consists of one piece of curved wood, the ends connected by means of the bow string; is called



ihuinartaq — that which is bent out in one piece. The other bow is called ihualik — the one with the end pieces, it is straight at both ends and curved only at the

middle. kujarna, i. e. the curved part, is backed with a piece of skin of the fjord seal or bearded seal; this is called tunua — its back part, and serves to stiffen the bow. The tunua is again strengthened by a plaiting of caribou sinews, called qitlautât — the plaited ones. The bow string is called nagarta — that which is tightened.

qipataq — really: implement for twisting; sinew twister shaped as shown: about 8 cm long.

The ends of the implement are bent up in opposite directions so that when pulling it out sideways it does not catch in the plaiting.

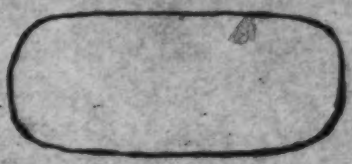
qarɹut — actually: something for sticking underneath; implement for inserting under the sinew backing when it is to be loosened, shaped as shown:

15—20 cm long.

qarpit — a kind of bodkin for inserting in the bow whippings when they are to be loosened.

Shaped: 15 cm long.

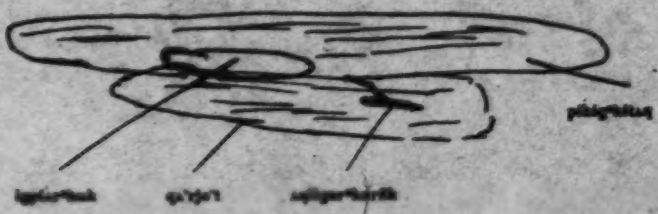
qiɹrfik — cutting-board for arrow feathers shaped as shown:



13 cm long and 8 cm wide.

haverort — thin, sharp knife with long shaft; for cutting arrow and feathers:

pihigʼhitaq — see sketch.

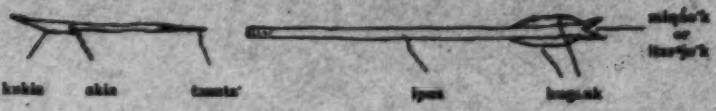


This comprises bow case, quiver and tool bag. qaʼrjort: the quiver; iqpiarʼhuk: the bag for tools for repairing

bow and arrows: ʌqilgʌr'hʌrlik: short thong with a toggle at the end for carrying ptarmigan; pihig'hitʌq: the bow case itself.

qʌ'rjʌq — common word for: arrow.

nuijʌq — a special arrow used for ptarmigan; it has a blunt, rounded head and is merely intended for hitting the bird. The reason for using this special ptarmigan arrow is: when shooting at a ptarmigan one might easily hit a stone, which destroys the arrow head; they have therefore devised an arrow that can withstand even the shock of hitting a stone. No special ptarmigan bow is used for these arrows. kukia — the sharp point of an arrow head. akia — the barb of an arrow. tiv'hʌr — bone part of the arrow head. tʌnutʌr — the pointed tang of the arrow head that fits into the shaft. hugʌuk (dualis) feathering. minno'k or itʌr'jo'k — the nock. ipuʌ — wooden arrow shaft. Thus the arrow has this appearance:



tiv'hait-ʌq — arrow head of copper or iron, shaped:

hamuʌralik — arrow head of horn without barbs:

havilik — arrow head of horn with iron blade:

haqnu'hʌlik — arrow head of horn with copper blade.

qipititʌq — arrow head entirely of copper:

3: Rasmussen--90-102 (c. 1923) 1932
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aŋuhimaŋq — a broken arrow shaft glued together with blood. The joint is called qaquqa:

aorqut — blood-glue. Dried blood, kept in a small sealskin bag or throat-skin of a bird. For use it is softened in the mouth with a little water.

hiarnaq — pin for closing a blood bag of caribou stomach, shaped:

qilaqmit — implement of bone for keeping open a blood bag of alraru'haq — caribou stomach, while pouring blood into it; the point is stuck into the flesh of the animal while the crutch is placed at the narrow opening of the stomach:

qarpit — curved bone pin with head; used for closing when the hindquarters have been cut away from the belly of the caribou; the pin is inserted through the belly skin to prevent the entrails from falling out:

auktaut — handle of horn for carrying a blood bag:

kakantaq — tump line, with a broad brow piece combined with a nanmautaq which passes across the chest.

kapo·t — caribou lasso; the shaft is called ipo and the head kukia.

pa'ñk (dualis) — kayak paddle; the blade is called mukuqa and the middle portion where it is gripped by the hands ikig'ha.

qapiłowk'ut — drip-ring, placed on each side of the hand-grip of the paddle to prevent the water dripping into the kayak.

qajaq — kayak. pa·q is the wooden ring round the man-hole, and is also the term for this hole. sivo is the stem. u'ho·jaq is the nose of the stem. tunerłak — the narrow lath running from stem and stern to the man-hole to stay up the deck beams; tiggo or tiggik — ribs. apam'ik — the gunwale, to which the top of the ribs are fastened. kiaqlo — wooden stringer running from stem to stern over the middle of the ribs to stiffen them. ajaj'haq — deck beam. igtarwik — a reinforced deck beam just behind the man-hole on which the man sits when sliding down into the kayak. mahia — the bent up deck beam of front of the man-hole. majo·ŋaŋ·a — the wood that runs from the latter to the deck-stay and forms the raised part of the deck just in front of the man-hole, to enable the body to slide into the kayak. kuja· — the keel of a kayak.

a·gig'hik (dualis) — sledge. napo· — a cross-slat; napallut — lashing for this. puvkunq — the hole in the runner for the cross-slat lashing. uvarneq — nose of the runner. parpa·q — red and black stripes painted on the nose of the runner. alianaerharługo — "in order that one may be happy when looking at it." naqita'rfik — load-lashing line along the upper edge of the runner under the cross-slats; through this is run the thong that holds the load on. qaiarqiut — the load thong, fastened in the middle of the runner in two ends; to lash on a load one begins at the middle, one line lashing the fore part, the other the rear part. parte — draught line, to which the traces are made fast. ano — dog harness; unotiq — the two main traces; quleguta· — the strap that holds the harness over the dog's neck and manaaquta· — the breast strap. aunglarut — the girth. qimmaq — dog trace. qivjarqut — swivel for preventing the twisting of the trace. ubnaq — thong connecting swivel and trace.

uniutaq — man's draught line, of bearded-seal thong; quite short and just in front of the sledge.

qamutaut'q — woman's draught line, also of bearded-seal thong; is long and extends out in front of the dogs.

uqortinut — literally: a means of frightening forward — a whip. Very primitive, more intended for keeping dogs from meat in the snow-but, where they usually are during the day. The sledge whip in the Greenland or Labrador-Hudson Bay sense is unknown.

tupeq — tent. igtät — tent sheet, consisting of seal or caribou skins sewn together. qanäk (pl. qan·ät) — tent pole. pa·q — tent opening, door. tupqugtän — two tent poles crossed at the top and forming the front of the tent. qimerrit — two similarly crossed poles forming the back of the tent. tɔ·rut — the ridge pole resting in the cross of front and rear poles, forming the ridge. qan·ät — tent poles resting loosely against the ridge pole, and forming the sides. qanagug'häk (dualis) — two short, loose poles laid up along the back of the tent so that the sheet can better be stretched out. qipiq·uagtäk (dualis) — two poles placed opposite one another but up against qimerrit to give room in the inner end of the tent. umik — tent-flap at the entrance; usually merely a loose caribou skin hung up between the front poles.

an·or'hät — clothing. puhitaq — hood collar, usually of white caribou skin. ka·vhera — small tuft at the back of a man's hood, for ornament. naha· — coat hood for men. manuhiqnäk (dualis) — two pieces of white skin sewn into the breast of the coat for ornament. hina· — the lower edging of the coat. ako — the long flap of the coat hanging down behind. iliqnera — dark pattern in the caribou skin, placed on the back of the men's coat, one below each shoulder blade. qaqunq·a — a white skin border running from the white hood-edging right round the hood of the women's hood. kinaq — small, tongue-shaped bib in front of the women's coat. nalik·auk (dualis) — women's trousers. tunuta· — the dark skin in women's trousers. iq'herit — pattern of white and black skin down along the seams of women's trousers. qarrik (dualis) — men's trousers. uq·iarnäk (dualis) — white border at the bottom of each trouser leg. napugutai — transversal stripes at the bottom of the trousers above uq·iarnäk. terig'haq — trouser belt for both sexes. nor'hut or ujäg'hint — trouser suspenders.

ipigᵘhau or kamiggāk — long, hairy, women's kamiks; at the top in front they terminate in a narrow strip of skin, ipiaq, used for drawing them up. hivɔrqa·rutini — black and white stripes along the front of kamiggāk. narna· — the uppermost white edging on kamiggāk. kamiggaˑk is also the name of men's outer kamiks of caribou skin; at the foot they are furnished with a loose shoe, kaiptaq, which has a sole of bearded seal skin and is laced over the instep. tuāgtɔralik — a very fine form of shoe, almost entirely of sole skin, except that a narrow tongue of dark, ordinary seal skin runs down the front from instep to toe, hence the name: the one with the little narrow one. tinajaut — crimping bone; sharpened piece of bone for crimping the sole skin.

qulieaq — long-haired winter coat for men. Otherwise the names of garments are the same for both sexes.

kapitɔqaq or atige — thin-haired outer coat.

numguᵘhaq or ma·nub nilik — festival coat, for use in the qaχᵘge.

ilupa·q — inner coat.

mitqutiāk (dualis) — long outer-kamiks of the skin of caribou legs.

aiertik (dualis) — stockings of caribou skin.

tugtɔqalo·k — small shoes, usually of hairless sealskin, worn over the long caribou-skin boots.

ugᵘhuviartauk — shoes with the hair outside, of caribou skin.

iliperqun· — small, short hose worn over the stockings, of sealskin.

pinerqān· — small short hose over the stockings, of caribou skin.

ilupāgᵘhāt — under-trousers, of caribou skin.

niɔrɔrigᵘhāt — sealskin boots with the hair outside.

iperautin — waterproof boots of unhaired sealskin.

pualuk (dualis) — short mittens of caribou skin.

haviarto'tit — long mittens for use when building snow huts.

qaɔrut — brow-band for both sexes, with decorations of brass or iron; specially for use in the qaχᵘge.

hium·iutaq — ear-drops, used, by the way, only by some families who have been in contact with the Pātlermiut inland.

atajɔrāgiāk (dualis) — trousers and boots all in one, for children.

atajulik — combination suits for children.

atuit·ulik — child's cap for the combination suit.

manuilitaq — child's collar or bib.
agkiut — child's vest with napkin string.
nahaq — child's cap.
naharaq — cap of caribou skin.
avaʻiaqʼhät — wattle platform mat.
kitaʻrutit } — long boards laid along the snow platform where people
or igɩitit } sit.
haviujaq — snow-knife, of horn.
qaingiaq — snow-knife, of copper.
havik — snow-knife, of iron.
pilaut or
hatgɔ or } — ordinary knife.
pilakaut
talugɩtit — spade for digging twigs or moss in winter.
kaŋoʻjant — wick bag, for keeping lamp-moss.
qutiaq — soapstone lamp.
utkuhik — soapstone cooking pot.
igɩiviaq — meat tray.
poʻgutaq — flat meat tray.
puätɩrit — snow shovel.
qätʻaq or } — water bag.
qainiŋaq }
qatɩut — ladle.
qajeʻiaq — large spoon, carved, of musk-ox horn.
oʻaʻaujant — fish spoon, of horn.
igpiarjuŋʻuaq — sewing bag.
igpiarjuk — large or small bag for general purposes.
poʻgʼhalgiaq — wide-mouthed bag of skin, especially for carrying frozen cod from the fishing place.
pɔʻruhaq — caribou-skin bag, filled with dried meat.
ɔʻhoʻt — blubber bag.
qiorwik — sewing board.
tikaq — thimble, of skin.
aloʻt — spoon, of European origin.
ulo — woman's knife.
kimaiaq — small woman's knife, especially for cutting out skins.
ɩrtɔʻtit — skin scraper, of bone.
nalugʼhit — bone skin-scraper, with blade of iron.
hilutaq — bone scraper for removing children's urine from the platform rugs.
tɔʻhuaq — sucking tube, used when drinking water.
haʻvɩut — marrow extractor.
haveroʻt — whittling knife.

qinʳukʌ·q — implement for cutting horn: on a short handle of horn is a piece of sharp iron with a notch in it; was especially used in former times, when they had no saws; by continually passing the notch through the same groove the horn was at length cut through. Common palæolithic implement; has also been used in Denmark, where flint took the place of iron.
iqig'haut — whetting tooth; molar of musk ox, used for whetting knives.
higʳit — whetstone.
pitiglʜʳʌq — bow-drill; kiqmiʌq — mouthpiece for same.
ikoʳtäq — drill of flint or iron.
uluartoʳt — saw.
niχit — fire drill; nʌqiqmitʌ· — breast piece for same, preferably of musk-ox horn; ikilfik — fire-hearth; niorut — fire-drill thong.
iqnäg'haut — fire-stone; pyrites for striking fire.
uvʌʳʌujʌq — downy willow-catkins, used as tinder.
iqnaut — fire-lighter bag.
huputit — hay and "down" from a lemming's nest, on which the glowing uvʌʳʌujʌq is laid; when the huputit flames up, it is used for lighting the wick of the lamp.
pujnalägtin — tobacco pipe.
kanqmut — back scratcher.
igʳʌintin — comb, of horn.
ulimaut — adze.
atuʌrtaut — white man's axe.
tugtɔʳʌq — thong of caribou skin; babiche.
umiqmagalik — thong of musk-ox hide.
aχunʌ·q — seal thong; line of bearded seal or common seal skin.
ivalo — sinew thread.
piʳʌrɔʌq — plaited sinews.
miqujʌq — soft dark stone used for colouring.
ivitʌ·q — soft red stone used for colouring.
aigʌ·q — shooting glove (with fingers) used in winter with the bow.
igʳʌukitautit — pack saddle for dogs, used in summer when the dogs have to carry.
ilgʌ·k — snow goggles.
qʌʳʌog'hutin or tagʳʌ·q } — snow shoes.
qilaut — drum; lhia — drum skin; kutoʳtʌ· — drum stick.
tap'he — belt.
atʌ·ät·ʌq — amulet, worn on the clothing.

ʌrʼhʌq — ball.
nihrtʌq — buzz.
ɑjʌgʌq — "ring-and-pin" game.
nuhingʌq — companion game to ɑjʌgʌq, but in this case a piece of bone with holes in it is suspended by a thong inside the hut; the bone is set swinging to and fro, and the players try to hit the holes with a long, thin stick.
iqlʌrt — sling.
ʌnʌrihaut — wind-wheel, a toy in the form of mill wings.
inʌrjʌq — doll.
ʼinʌrʼät or hiʌrualgit — drying rack; to hang over the lamp. Mostly consists of a round wooden frame in which plaited sinew-thread, qilua, is stretched.
unʌq — ice-hunting harpoon. nauʌq ordinary harpoon head of bone with blade of flint, iron or copper; if the whole harpoon head is of iron it is called havik.
ainq — harpoon line of seal thong.
iukarhiaq — harpoon line of plaited caribou sinew.

NB. The other names of ice-hunting implements are given in the list of words.

mitqohivik — piece of skin for keeping sewing needles in.
tikʼivik — thimble holder.
putʌät — stone trap for fox or wolf.
ublahait — tower trap.
mikigiʌq — deadfall of ice, arranged so that a large heavy piece of ice is set up on edge, and when the animal snatches at the bait hanging below, the block falls on it.

3: Rasmussen--289 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
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"As the Umingmaktôrmiut are the tribe living furthest east of the Eastern Eskimo group in arctic America, and thus in a way form the extreme flank of that group, whose tongue is essentially different to that of the Western group, the following contains a very comprehensive collection of their words. It makes no pretence of being a dictionary, as it is mostly built upon folk tales, songs, lists of names, etc.; nevertheless it includes many of the most commonly used words in everyday speech, in order to show that it is essentially the same language that is spoken everywhere, right over to Greenland.

It should be observed that among this tribe the letter 's' has practically disappeared, having been replaced by 'h'."

CHAPTER 11

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Excluding the outer shoes, which were made of sealskin, it required no less than seven caribou hides to furnish the adult Copper Eskimo with one complete suit of clothing for winter travel; and every man really needed two suits, besides a raincoat and special footgear for the spring and summer months. In winter his costume comprised two frocks or coats (*atigi*) worn one inside the other, the fur of the outer on the outside, and the fur of the inner against his body; an overcoat (*qulitaq*), whenever the weather demanded it; two pairs of breeks (*qaqlik*), worn in the same way as the coats; two pairs of stockings worn similarly, and reaching to just below the knees (inner pair *alektik*, outer *mitqulik*); a pair of caribou fur slippers (*ilupeqquk*) between the stockings; and low sealskin shoes (*tuktukaluk*) as a final covering for the feet. A pair of mittens completed the outfit. The overcoat, unlike the outer garments, which were fashioned from summer skins, was made from the heavy winter coat of the caribou, and generally required two full skins for its manufacture. Of the two ordinary coats or *atigi*, the outer (*kapitaq*) also required the greater part of two skins because of its ornamental pattern, but the inner coat (*ilupaq*) could usually be made from one hide. Two more hides, with the fragments left over from the coats, generally sufficed for the breeks, footgear, and mittens. Caps were fairly common, but, apart from the ceremonial dancing cap, were worn mainly by children, as the ordinary coat nearly always carried a hood that could be drawn up over the head.

MEN'S CLOTHING

Coats. Except that they were closed down the front and provided with a hood to cover the head, men's outer and inner coats resembled in most cases the formal evening dress of Europeans; for in front they were cut away at the waist, and behind they trailed a tail that extended anywhere from below the knees to the ankles. Outer and inner garments alike were normally fashioned from caribou furs, the outer always, and the inner usually, from light summer skins. The outer alone was decorated with special insertions, and it, therefore, differed considerably in make-up from the inner coat, although Eskimo seamstresses did not adhere in either garment to one unchanging pattern, but varied the numbers and positions of their seams according to the shapes and sizes of the skins at their command. The sleeves of both garments were always a separate addition, not put together in any set way but pieced from fragments of skins. In inner coats all the back and the greater part of the hood were generally cut out from one piece of skin; the shoulders, front, and sides were either from one skin section also, or else from two joined together in a straight line from chin to waist. In outer coats, if we omit the decorative insertions, one piece gave the long tail and nearly all the middle of the back, a second the sides of the back and such of the front as was not filled by insertions; two small oblong pieces then filled the gaps, if any, under the arms, and a fifth piece, which carried with

Sealskin Shoes. The creamy yellow shoes of dressed sealskin (*tuktukaluk*) that formed the outermost covering of the feet during the winter months, and were commonly worn around camp in the summer, contrasted pleasingly with the brown and white caribou fur in the rest of the costume. The Eskimo made their shoes on two patterns. One type, the easiest to make, was a plain shoe (*ukuviaqtak*) in which the whole upper part covering the instep was a separate piece attached to the sole by a seam around the edge of the foot. More decorative, and, therefore, always preferred for dances, was the second type (*tuatuatsiaq*), in which the sole was crimped over the toes and its edges joined to an inserted V-shaped "tongue", broad or narrow according to the fancy of the maker, and cut from brownish black, undressed sealskin that stood out prominently in its yellow setting. The two patterns are shown in Figure 10.

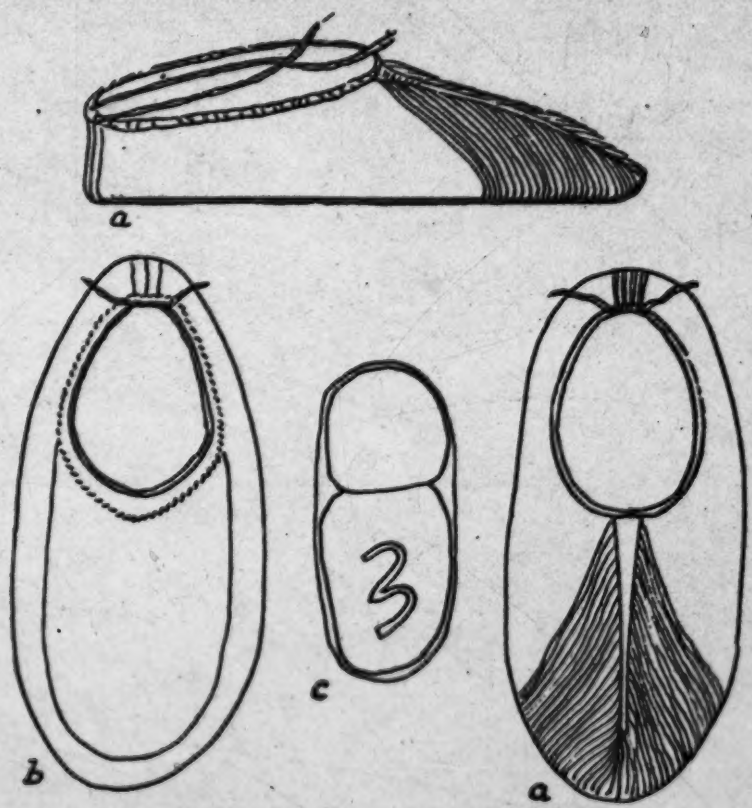

Figure 10. Sealskin shoes; *a*: crimped; *b*: plain; *c*: sole of *b* showing creepers. IV.D.31, 1889.

In both types of shoes the sole was turned up over the heel, and either crimped (the tucks being threaded together with sinew knotted at both ends), or else slit, and, after the removal of one or more triangular sections, joined

29 together again. Heel crimping was naturally confined almost entirely to the more decorative shoes. When not crimped, this type usually had one seam up the middle of the heel, whereas the plainer type frequently had two and even three.

294 A casing of sealskin (more rarely, caribou skin), undressed, and sometimes
281 not even dehaired, was sewn round the top of the shoe to hold a cord of plaited
291 sinew (*singiq*) that emerged through two holes at the back and tied in a bow over the instep. Two large patches of sealskin, dehaired but undressed, covered the whole or almost the whole of the sole, giving it double thickness; and whenever a hole wore in either patch, another was promptly superimposed on it. These patches had to be sewn on with concealed stitches that caught only the under surface, because the thread would quickly fray and break if it penetrated
[481] to the outside. Natives who anticipated considerable walking on glare ice or very hard, firmly packed snow sometimes added also narrow, meandering patches —"creepers"—to give them securer foothold (Figure 10c).

[114] In the autumn of 1915, when the party with which I was travelling was
[122] still hunting inland, an Eskimo induced his wife to make him a pair of caribou-
[177] fur overshoes and to reinforce them with extra soles of sealskin. From another native I obtained a similar pair of caribou-fur overshoes that bore outer soles of dehaired caribou skin, and, over the outer soles, patches of sealskin. These were probably copied from the shoes of the inland Eskimo to the southeast, where they were invariably made from caribou fur, as the Copper Eskimo well knew. Around Coronation Gulf they were regarded with disfavour for ordinary use, because, although warmer, they readily soaked up the damp from the half-thawing floor of the snow-hut and immediately shed their fur. They were more practicable among the inland Eskimo, whose snow-huts were not so warm, because, lacking seal oil, they burned caribou fat in their lamps, which served in the main for lighting only.

[171] →

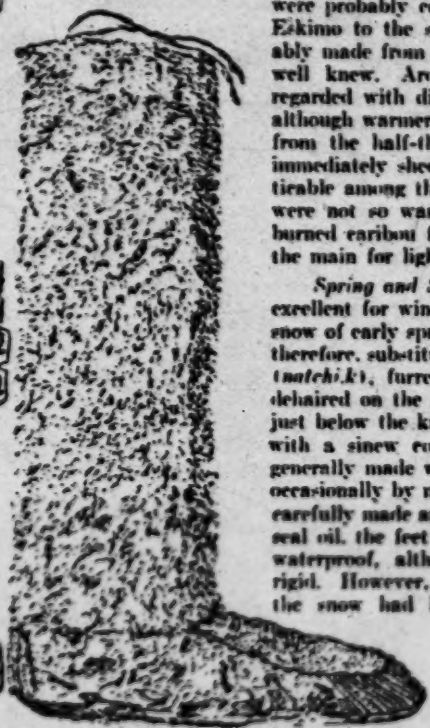

Figure 11. Man's spring boot. IV.D.1029. 1/4.

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Spring and Summer Boots. Sealskin shoes were excellent for winter wear, but against the soft deep snow of early spring quite inadequate. The Eskimo, therefore, substituted for them long boots of sealskin (*matchik*), furred on the outside of the legs but dehaired on the feet (Figure 11). They reached to just below the knees, and were there tightly bound with a sinew cord that passed through a casing, generally made with an extra band of sealskin, but occasionally by merely sewing down the edge. When carefully made and saturated from time to time with seal oil, the feet of these boots were soft but quite waterproof, although the uppers were somewhat rigid. However, toward the end of spring, when the snow had largely melted, the streams were running, and pools of water lay everywhere, the Eskimo changed to their real waterboots (*iperautik*) (Figure 12), which were similar in shape, but dehaired throughout their entire

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Good waterboots, boots, that is to say, that would actually keep out the water, required very skilful sewing. If the thread gave out when making a seam the woman did not simply knot it and start afresh, but she carefully spliced a new thread into the end of the old; and she greased both the thread and the skin with blubber to prevent any tearing at the punctures. Men commonly tested a new pair of waterboots by standing in water, and unmercifully scolded their wives if the result proved unsatisfactory.

Figure 14. Man's outer stockings. IV.D.975, 772. Approx. 1/3.

Outer Stockings. The Copper Eskimo never wore an outer pair of stockings (*mitqolik*) except with sealskin shoes, because they were a needless encumbrance under the spring and summer boots. Like the latter, they reached to just below the knees, where either a casing was added or their upper edges stitched down to hold the cord of sinew that fastened in front of the leg and kept them in place. The outer side of the stocking, of course, was always furred. We may distinguish four varieties. The first and commonest, called simply *mitqolik* (Figure 13), was made from caribou leg skins, in which the hair lies flat and smooth; the second, *kamakpak*, from the body coat of the caribou, in which the

292 hair is longer and stands out straighter, making the stocking seem very bulky.
294 Fashion decreed that in this second variety there should be a streak of white
[192] fur down the inside of the leg. The third variety, also called, I believe, *kamakpak*, was made from less heavy body skin, and decorated at intervals with narrow bands of white fur that usually encircled the leg, but in some stockings ran vertically. This variety was quite popular, because it was serviceable for travelling, like the former two, and also acceptable in the dance house.
[192] The real dancing stocking, which was rarely worn upon the trail, was the *kamakparyuk*, in which all or nearly all the leg was encircled by narrow parallel bands in three colours, white, red, and black or brownish black (Figure 14a). The white was given by close-clipped caribou fur or dressed sealskin, the black, by the natural colour of dehaired sealskin, darkened still more at times with galena, and the red, by dehaired sealskin stained with litharge.

Variations of these four types were not uncommon, for the Eskimo were quick to seize any new idea that presented itself. Thus, some stockings combined the characteristics of the third and fourth varieties; they were furred below the calf of the leg and decorated with one or more stripes of white-haired caribou skin, and above, they bore the parallel, coloured bands. Other stockings had two or three consecutive rows of coloured bands, usually black and white only, arranged at intervals down the furred legs. Illustrations of some of these variations are shown in Figures 13 and 14.

The feet of outer stockings were nearly always stitched from caribou leg skins, but the seams did not follow any definite pattern. One occasionally encountered feet made of haired sealskin, which were less warm than feet of caribou fur, but were not spoiled by the dampness that often penetrated through the sealskin overshoes from the soggy floor of the snow-hut.

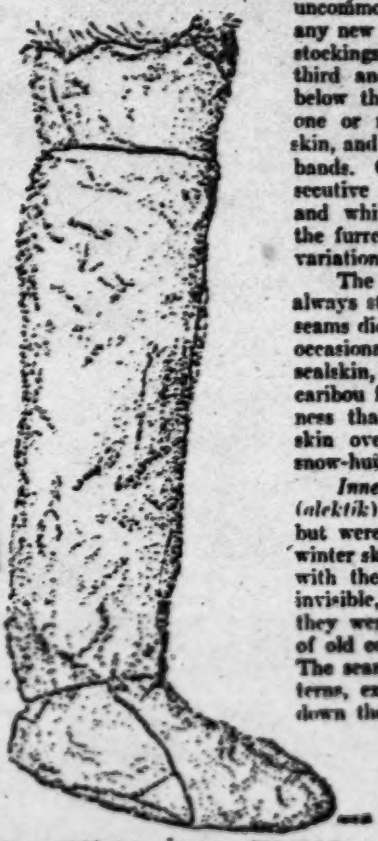

Figure 13. Man's inner stocking. IV.D.28. 1/2.

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Inner Stockings. The inner stockings (*alektik*) coincided in length with the outer but were nearly always made from the thick winter skin on the body of the caribou and worn with the fur inside. As they were normally invisible, and did not need to be attractive, they were often pieced together from sections of old coats, sleeping skins, and other articles. The seams, therefore, followed no definite patterns, except that one usually ran lengthwise down the middle of the sole, because this was the easiest way to shape the foot. They needed no cord around the top, being stiff enough to keep their shape even when they were not held up by the outer stockings or the boots (Figure 15).

Socks. Between the outer and inner stockings came the socks (*ilupeqqut*), worn with the fur on the outside. Generally they were made from the thick winter coat of the caribou (Figure 16), but sometimes from the thinner summer coat, and occasionally, especially in children's clothing, from other skins such as hare, marmot, and even loon. A few, for greater warmth, were of double [291] [192]

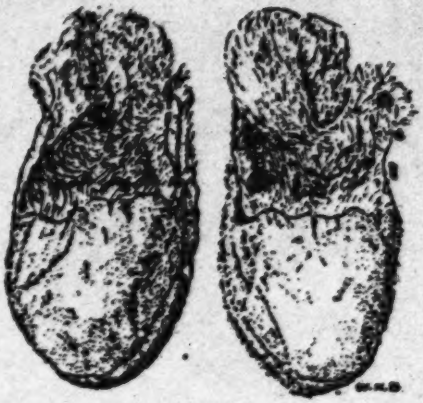

Figure 16. Man's caribou-fur socks. IV.D.767. 1/4.

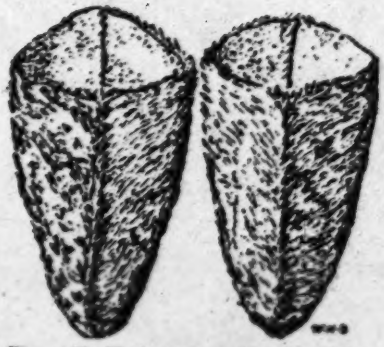

Figure 17. Man's outer socks, of seal fur. IV.D.762. 1/8.

Figure 18. Man's outer sock, of sealskin. IV.D.1255. 1/3.

thickness and presented fur on both the inside and outside. Each sock was commonly shaped from a single piece of skin, slit front and back, then seamed from toe to instep and up the heel, but there were numerous exceptions to this rule. [294]

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[292]

Figure 19. Child's fawn-skin cap. IV.D.931. 1/4.

Caribou fur socks were worn in winter and summer alike, over the inner stocking. When the snow began to melt in the early spring, and both the outer stockings of caribou fur and the sealskin shoes gave place to sealskin boots, the Eskimo wore over these caribou fur socks other socks of sealskin (*pineqqûk*), with the hair turned outside (Figure 17). Later in the season, again, when wandering inland over stony ground that was liable to blister the feet, they generally inserted socks of hairless sealskin (*kimtcituk*) between the other two (Figure 18). Both types of sealskin socks were made in exactly the same way as the caribou-fur ones.

Caps. Men very seldom wore caps, except the ceremonial caps for dances, but women used them occasionally, especially in summer when mosquitoes darkened the air, and children quite frequently at every season of the year. They were made generally from fawn or marmot fur, worn with the fur side outward; and in shape resembled a bonnet, often with lugs to protect the ears (Figure 19).

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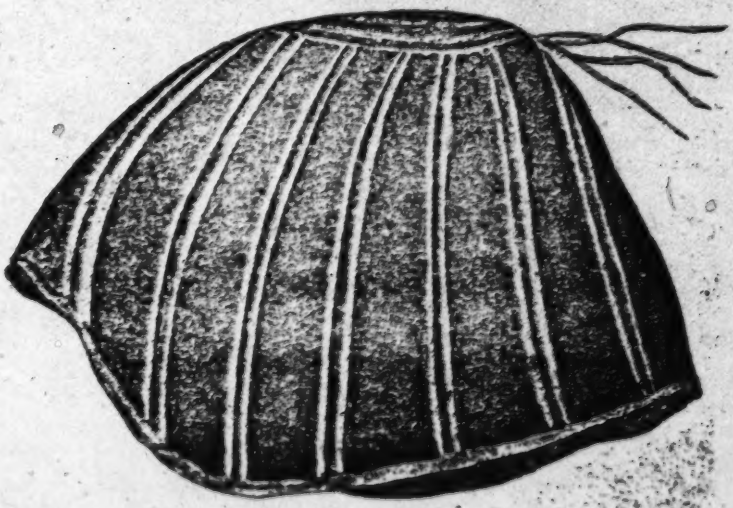

Figure 20. Dancing cap, of sealskin. IV.D.932. Approx. 1/2.

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Dancing caps were luxuries restricted to influential natives, who nevertheless lent them freely to kinsmen, so that in the course of an evening's entertainment the same cap might appear on half a dozen heads, both men's and women's.

Trousers. Women, like men, wore two pairs of trousers (*nalikhak*) in winter, and only the inner pair in summer; but as their stocking covered more of the leg than the men's, their trousers were shorter and did not reach the knees. 291 192

The inner pair was rarely if ever decorated. The outer often had coloured stripes down the outside of each leg, and, in the middle of the front, a triangular gusset of white fur, with its two sides parallel to the white or coloured edges of the stockings. To enhance the symmetry of the arrangement these two sides also carried at times an edging of coloured bands (Figure 29). 291 531

So far as I know, women never used drawstrings on their trousers, but secured them with a sealskin thong fitted with loop and toggle. 291

Shoes, Socks, and Mittens. These were in no way different from those worn by men. Women, of course, did not possess the long working mittens that reached half-way up the forearm.

Waterboots. The woman's waterboot (Figure 30) had the shape of the stocking beneath it, which above the foot differed entirely from a man's boot or stocking. After fitting tightly around the ankle it expanded rapidly upward, attaining just above the knee a diameter of from 10 inches to over a foot. The outer side of the boot (or stocking) then tapered to form a wide strap that tucked over the belt holding up the trousers.

In the foot it did not differ from a man's boot. Like a man's, too, the leg had only one seam, straight up the middle; but in so large an expanse of skin there were generally two or three holes, from wounds and other causes, that required covering with round patches.

Outer Stockings. The waterboot replaced in summer the outer stocking (*ipiga.k*) of caribou fur, which bore the same peculiar shape as the boot, but was frequently decorated after the manner of the man's outer stocking. Commonly all the upper edge, from the inside of the knee to the top of the strap that tucked into the belt, was bordered with several parallel rows in red, white, and black (either the black or the red, but more commonly the red, might be omitted). From the strap to the foot, down the front of the leg, ran another broad band, similarly coloured, and a third, or else two or three rather narrow bands inserted an inch or two apart, extended half-way around the ankle or completely encircled it (*See* Figure 31). There were numerous modifications of this pattern, however, as in the patterns on men's stockings. For example, the coloured stripes varied greatly in number; they were often replaced by broad or narrow bands of white caribou fur; and the decoration down the front of the leg was frequently omitted (*See* Figure 32). 292 531 [192]

The feet of both outer and inner stockings were made preferably from caribou leg skins, but not infrequently from marmot fur. In spring some women replaced them with feet of haired sealskin. The rest of the garment was derived from the body fur of the caribou. 291 292 237

Inner Stockings. These corresponded in shape with the outer, and bore the same name, *ipiga.k*, but were almost invariably plain. In fact, I have seen only one decorated pair, a specimen that came from Prince Albert Sound. It bore the usual red, white, and black stripes, but they were inserted on the hairless, unattractive side, as the stocking was worn with the fur side in. Around the ankle was an additional design, the YII pattern that women tattooed on their arms and etched on their needle-cases, here produced by running stitches of very narrow sealskin (Figure 33). This design was very rare on garments, but occurred also on a woman's coat and on a pair of women's outer stockings that we bought in Coronation Gulf. 291 531 [192] [304] [294] [126]

SNOW KNIVES OF ANTLER AND BONE

412 32 [192] To chop up the blocks of snow in the cooking pot, women frequently used a knife of antler, more rarely of bone, known as *hawayaq*, a light, roughly made tool, two specimens of which are shown in Figure 78. Many women, however, simply used the curved knife or ulo for this purpose.

Figure 78. Antler knives for chopping snow. IV.D.188, 378. Approx. 1/2.

[171] These antler knives are identical with those used in the Hudson Bay area for scraping ice from kayaks, but the Copper Eskimo had little or no occasion [462] to employ them for this purpose. A woman sometimes used one to chop snow [342] for filling in gaps between the snow blocks while her husband completed the building of a igu, but even this was unusual.

412 When a pronged antler was not available, the natives often made an
321 artificial prong. Thus Figure 87b illustrates a copper-bladed scraper with an
325 antler peg driven into a handle of the same material; a groove on the under side of the handle seems to indicate that it was used as the top piece of a bow-drill. The workmanship in the specimen illustrated in Figure 87a is much more
[414] careful. This scraper also has a copper blade attached to its antler handle by means of copper rivets, and a well-made knob on the under side of the handle for a finger rest. The upper surface, however, has been neatly trimmed and fitted with a small pronged piece of antler, held securely in position with three pegs of the same material.

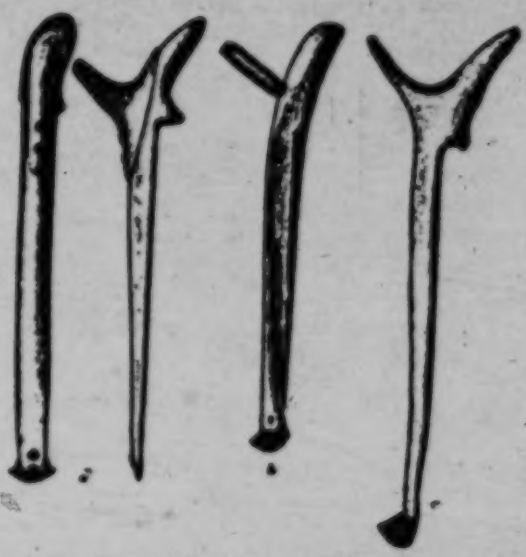

Figure 87. Skin scraper. a: IV.D.1619, and b: IV.D.1[illegible], with copper blades; c: IV.D.4[illegible], with iron blade. Approx. 1/2.

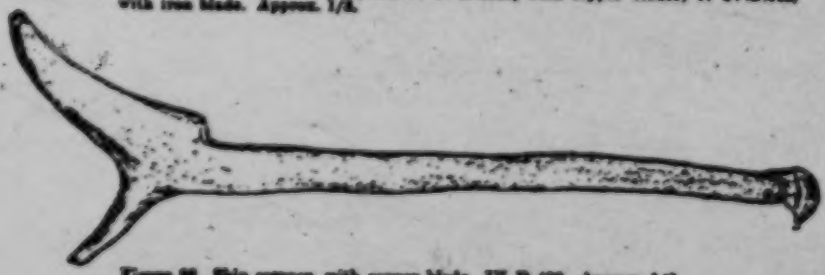

Figure 88. Skin scraper, with copper blade. IV.D.4[illegible]. Approx. 1/2.

412 *Skin Stretchers.* There were two names for skin stretchers, *aqtogsiun* and
[192] *iku.gun.* The words are treated as synonymous in my notes, but it is more probable that each applied only to one of the two types that are described here. Some families possessed both kinds of stretchers, others only one.

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gave these bones a dazzling whiteness, for which reason, in 1915, a young girl strung about a dozen unfinished needle-cases to a stick and left them to bleach throughout the whole summer. The final smoothness and polish came from handling.

Figure 94. Needle-cases and attachments. IV.D.484. 1933. 1/2.

Figure 95. Needle-case and attachments. IV.D.1622. 1/2.

Quite a number of needle-cases, however, were made, not from the leg bone of the caribou, but from the wing bone of a swan, goose, or other aquatic bird (Figure 98). They were much smaller and more rounded than the ordinary needle-case, which was usually flat on one side. These smaller needle-cases of wing bone were used mainly by hunters to repair their footgear or rents in their clothing at times when the women were absent. They were then attached to the bow-case, and often contained merely a needle of the usual type and a little sinew; instead of a thimble the hunter used his teeth, and his skinning knife took the place of the proper knife for cutting skins, the *qinaqik*. [224] [192]

Most needle-cases were ornamented with incised lines very similar to the tattooed lines on women. This ornamentation will be discussed in a later section. [531]

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alone was pitted with holes. With constant usage the pits soon perforated right through the bone, when the thimble, ceasing to protect the finger, was thrown away. When steel needles were introduced the wear on the thimble was much greater than with the soft copper needles; consequently, there was quite a demand for metal thimbles, which had the further merit of chafing the finger less than the old bone ones. The metal thimble was then often kept in a tightly fitting bag of skin or cloth tied to the skin containing the needles; but the old bone thimble had a special toggle that is described below.

412 325 177

Figure 99. Copper needles. IV.D.329, 330. 1/1.

412 321

A few thimbles are shown in Figures 100 and 101. Figure 100 illustrates the first stage in the manufacture of a bone thimble from a phalangeal bone of a caribou; Figure 101c gives the front view of what was perhaps the commonest variety, although this specimen is pitted on one face only; *b* is a side view of the signet-ring type; *a* is a thimble of musk-ox horn, closed at the top, possibly in imitation of European thimbles.

Figure 100. Unfinished thimble. IV.D.377. 1/1.

Thimble Holders. The thimble holder used with the open-topped bone thimbles was a small toggle made usually from the breast bone of a caribou (Figures 94-97). It always bore the same shape, which resembled somewhat the outstretched wings of a bird; but the length varied from 1½ to 3 inches. A small hole drilled through the middle enabled it to be tied with a sinew thread to the strip of sealskin containing the needles; the thimble merely slipped on over the toggle and dangled on the thread. The toggle provided also a very convenient handle for drawing out the needles, although its name, *tikivik* or "thimble-place", indicates that this was not its primary purpose.

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Pendants to Needle-cases. A marrow spatula was generally attached to the sealskin at the end opposite to the thimble holder to help in drawing the needles inside the case, and to prevent the skin from pulling right out; but sometimes the skin was merely left larger at this end, or carried a button, shaped like the

Cutting-out Boards. There was no special shape to the board (*qeerulk*) used for cutting and trimming skins, provided only that it was small and flat. The women often carried a board about 6 inches long in their sewing bags. 412 281 [192]

Boot Creaser. A special implement, *tigupuun*, "a tool to grasp", usually just a flattened stick of bone with a dull edge, was used occasionally to crease the toes of the white sealskin shoes. Most women, however, used the nail of the right thumb, and bestowed on it the magnificent name *kamitikakarlak*, "my shoe-making tool". 412 [192]

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412 177 →

Figure 103. Threading needles. IV.D.888, 181. 1/1.

Figure 104. Scissors, with blades of hoop iron. IV.D.1612. 4/5.

Marrow Spatulæ. Spatulæ for removing the marrow from the leg bones of the caribou and musk-ox were attached, as a rule, to the needle-case, or carried by hunters in the bags of their bow-cases. They varied greatly in shape, some showing a resemblance to meat skewers, others to marline-spikes; but they were less massive than the marline-spikes, and their flat, blunt points generally distinguished them from meat skewers. Nearly all were of bone, generally a caribou leg bone, but occasional specimens were of antler or even horn. The handle, drilled with a small hole when attached to the needle-case, was frequently carved into a small oval butt like the butt of the snow knife; or it was notched or serrated. There was rarely any etching of the surface, probably because the implement was too small. 412 321

A small assortment of spatulæ is shown in Figure 102. Specimen *f* in that figure is a very unusual form that would hardly have been identified as a spatula had I not seen it in actual use; it was attached to the needle-case of a

411 for the snow knife, which served also as a hunting knife, sewn to either bow-
415 case or quiver. The carrying strap was attached by sewing or with toggles to
28 the same edge of the bow-case as the quiver, so that the two would lie together;
in fact, the ends of the strap often served to unite them.

Bow-case, quiver, and tool bag, when fully equipped, carried on their surfaces nearly a dozen bone toggles and needles whose forms and uses require some explanation. Other objects might be attached for temporary convenience, but they were not standard equipment.

When the carrying strap, which passed across the chest and around the upper arms like the regular pack-strap, was not sewn directly to the bow-case, it buttoned to two toggles of the standardized shape, illustrated in Figure 160a. There was also a long, flat handle, *nerumiarvik*, lashed to the straight edge of the bow-case so that it could be carried in the hand. This handle varied in size according to the size and weight of the bow and quiver, its average length being about 8 inches; the shape never varied, however, except that the ends were sometimes pointed instead of rounded. The flat surface lent itself to ornamentation, and most bow-case handles were decorated with a more or less fixed design[1] (Figure 158).

A toggle similar to those for the carrying strap was occasionally sewn on the side of the bow-case for the attachment of a short board. I failed to procure any specimen of this board, but Figure 159 reproduces field sketches of two that I saw in actual use. Each was about 16 inches long, but one was made from one solid piece of wood, the other from two smaller boards lashed together. The toggle on the bow-case passed through the slot in the middle. In the hunting field the Eskimo planted two walking-sticks in the ground, fastened these boards to their ends, and stationed two children to twirl them, or to beat them with a stick, so that the frightened caribou would not break away from the line of the drive and escape the concealed hunters.[2] The board had two names, *kiryaluu* and *aulaqotit*, "driving instrument".

The quiver was sometimes sewn to the bow-case, sometimes attached by means of small toggles of varying shapes, one type being shown in Figure 160b. A similar toggle on the face of the bow-case buttoned over the handle of the snow knife to keep it from slipping out of its sheath.

Somewhere on the outside of either quiver or bow-case were two small bone "wings", from 2 inches to 3 inches long, of standardized shape, for pinning through the wings of

411 [531] 414 224 411 414 [192] [192] [113]

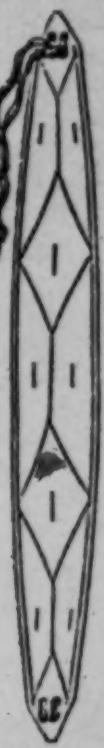

Figure 158. Bone handle of bow-case. IV. D. 100. 1/2.

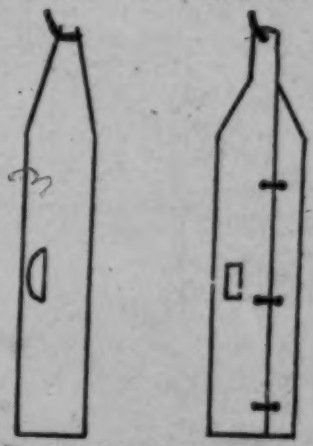

Figure 159. Field sketch of two boards used for frightening caribou. Approx. 1/8.

[1] The specimens figured in Nelson, Anthropological Papers, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 88, called a "ball for Cord used in holding Beads", in a bow-case handle.
[2] See Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, fig. 68, p. 188.

small birds, principally ptarmigan; hence these toggles were called *aqargiqsiutit*: "ptarmigan appliances" (Figure 161). 411 414 [192]

A bone or musk-ox horn handle (*seruminiaq*), fitted with a short strap of plaited sinew (Figure 162), was sometimes kept in the tool bag, but more often looped through some hole on the outside of the quiver or bow-case, or attached in some other way. Usually about 10 cm. long, of standardized shape, it was often grooved to fit the fingers in the same way as the blubber pounder and the whittling knife. This handle served on occasion to carry any small bundle, but was principally used for carrying the head of the caribou, or the bag containing its blood. From the latter use it acquired a second name, *auqtun* or "blood carrier". 414 321 [192] [482] [192]

Figure 160. Toggles sewn to bow-case. *a* for attaching the carrying strap, *b* for attaching the quiver. IV.D.1033, 91. 1/1.

The tool bag was often closed by lacing, for which purpose one end of a short cord of sinew was attached to the edge of the bag, and the other end to a small bone needle with which it could be threaded through the holes. When completely furnished, it contained the following articles. 415 284

Two marline-spikes for the bow lashings; two twisters for the bow lashings; one or more spare wedges to go under the lashings; feathers for the arrows, kept usually in a small bag of marmot or other skin; a small board for trimming the feathers; a grooving tool for attaching the feathers; a little caribou back sinew for lashing the feathers, splicing the arrows, sewing rents in clothing, etc.; spare parts of arrows for repairs; bone skewers for the carcasses of game; bone pips for the bag that contained the caribou blood; a wrist guard; a drinking tube; a needle-case and needle; a mattock for making a hunting pit (if too large for the tool bag this was carried in the quiver or even in the bow-case); an arrow straightener. 41 237

Very few tool bags, however, contained all these articles. The natives nearly always hunted together, and the deficiencies of one bag could be supplied from another. On the other hand, the tool bag often contained other articles, such as the whittling knife and the graver for cutting bone, which were more usually stored in a special tool bag at home, with the adze and the bow-drill. The bow adjuster, being large and cumbersome, was also left in camp. [224]

Marline-spikes. Marline-spikes (Figure 163), which averaged from 6 inches to 10 inches long, were made of caribou or musk-ox bone. Some closely resembled marrow spatulæ and, at times, were actually used for extracting marrow, but their larger size, heavier construction, and the small hole below the handle instead of at the extreme end distinguished them from the ordinary spatulæ. This hole enabled them to be lashed in pairs, because two were required to unfasten and tighten the back lashings of the bow. One cord often fastened together the two marline-spikes and the two twisters, which also went in pairs. The handles of marline-spikes were frequently grooved for the fingers on one edge, and sometimes on both. Ornamentation, however, was rare, and when it did occur, consisted merely of a few incised lines or the ring-and-dot pattern. 412 321 [414] [531]

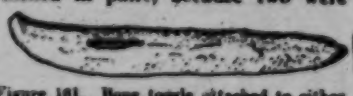

Figure 161. Bone toggle attached to either bow-case or quiver for pinning through ptarmigan wings. IV.D.1029. 1/1.

Twisters. The twisters (Figure 164) were much shorter than the marline-spikes to which they were usually attached, although they were made of the same material, and also used in pairs. All had the same unvarying shape, a flattened

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

two sharp edges, one of which was slightly higher than the other. One specimen had two slots, the lower more worn than the upper; probably the upper slot had proved unsatisfactory and the wood was large enough to permit a second. I have seen the Eskimo use this tool to adjust the horns of the bow, but it may conceivably have served also to regulate the curvature of the centre piece. 412 322

Figure 174. Bow adjuster, of wood. IV.D.94. Approx. 1/2.

Lances

Lances, which were used only for spearing caribou from the kayak, closely resembled one type of arrow. The long tang of the triangular copper blade was driven into a head of bone, or more usually antler, which was split at the base to form a socket for the end of the wooden shaft, and secured by copper rivets. A specimen is shown in Figure 175. 411 [224]

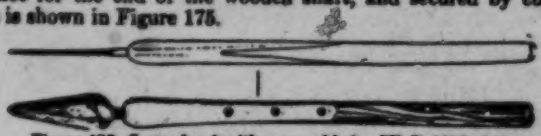

Figure 175. Lance head with copper blade. IV.D.1035. 1/4.

Besides the regular caribou lance, the natives often improvised crude lances for spearing marmots in their holes, and threw them away when the occasion passed. Figure 176 illustrates the head of one of these marmot lances made of antler; in use it was lashed to a walking-stick. The natives called it indifferently a "hook" (*nigsik*), or a "lance" (*kapu.n*). [224] [192]

Figure 176. Crude bone point for spearing marmots. IV.D.978. 1/1.

The Copper Eskimo encountered bears so seldom that they did not develop any special weapon against them. Because they dreaded to meet the barren-ground grizzly at close quarters, they shot it with their bows and arrows; but against the polar bear they improvised lances by lashing their two-edged snow knives to long poles. 411 224 136

Sling and Bolas

Though children occasionally flung stones at birds with their tump-lines, the Copper Eskimo, strictly speaking, used neither the sling nor the bolas. They claimed, however, that both weapons were current among the inland Eskimo far to the southeast. 411